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Ingraham Post, G. A. R. His honorary degrees were M. A., 1866, Brown University; Ph. D., 1882, Bates College; LL. D., 1906, Whitman College, State of Washington.

VICTORY AND PEACE

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

PROBABLY no one in this country or Europe who read the address delivered by President Wilson to the Senate on January 22, 1917, has forgotten that he advocated "peace without victory" as the only ending of the great war that could possibly be permanent. In endeavoring to make his meaning clear he added: "I am seeking only to face realities and to face them without soft concealments. Victory would mean peace forced upon the loser, a victor's terms forced upon the vanquished. It would be accepted in humiliation under duress, at an intolerable sacrifice, and would have a sting, a resentment, a bitterness of memory upon which terms of peace would rest, not permanently, but only as upon quicksand."

Was not President Wilson right? Even though we have ourselves plunged into the war, and indeed all the more because we have done so, is it not important for us to ponder his words?

I am aware that his utterance has been severely criticised in some quarters, and even sneered at. But is there not reason to believe that the future will recognize it as one of the profoundest (as well as one of the bravest) words spoken by any statesman in our times? The declaration was based upon the very deepest laws of the human mind existing and operative in all nations. Peace without victory on either side—that is to say, peace concluded because desired by both sides, because both sides had come to realize the futility, waste, and crime of further hostilities—and with concessions on both sides, would leave the least possible bitterness in both, and consequently the least possible reason for the two to arm still more heavily in preparation for a future struggle still more desperate.

Whereas, if either side won a decisive victory and forced a humiliating peace upon the other, the almost certain result would be, on the part of the victor, pride, arrogance, an increased sense of his own irresistible might, and, therefore, a powerful temptation to push his conquest still further; and, on the part of the vanquished, chagrin, anger, and a determination to begin at once the creation of still larger armies and navies in preparation for future revenge.

It is worthy of note that this position taken by President Wilson is also the precise position occupied by the leading and responsible socialists of this country, and for the most part also by the socialists of the world. They believe that a clear victory for either side would fill all Europe with ineradicable hate, and its future with increased armaments and with fighting even more terrible than in the past. But a drawn battle they believe would open the eyes of all nations to the utter futility of war, and act as a strong and enduring check upon future temptations to draw the sword.

Let no one say that persons who take this position are therefore on the side of Germany. They are no more on the side of Germany than was President Wilson when he uttered his great words. On the contrary, most of

them are strongly with the Allies. But they want a peace which, when it comes, will last; and they believe that here is to be found the indispensable condition of the only peace which will not turn the whole world, America included, into an armed camp, with other Armageddons, even more terrible than the present one, sure to follow in the not distant future.

Any one who looks at all deeply into the relations of cause and effect should be able to see that the most important of all possible conditions to be borne in mind in seeking a European peace, is to secure it on such a basis as will leave all parties concerned least desirous of further war, least stung to resentment and revenge, best able to live, and most desirous of living, in future friendship and cooperation with one another. If America allows herself to forget this, will it not be a mistake of the most disastrous character? The President's great words should not be forgotten by us or by any of the other nations.

JOHN FREDERICK HANSON

By S. L. HANSON

WITH the death of John Frederick Hanson the American Peace Society loses one of its most earnest workers. In his triple capacity as preacher, reformer, and pacifist, he won wherever he went respect for the cause which he so unflinchingly promoted, and brought to the Society, which he represented wholly in a voluntary capacity, many who have since become its firm supporters. His field of endeavor was mainly in Iowa, South Dakota, and Oregon, but he had many calls beyond these limits, and the whole compass of his range of influence is difficult to measure today.

Mr. Hanson was born in 1841, a native of Stavanger, Norway. At the age of fifteen he came to America with his parents, and settled in the State of Iowa. His early youth was marked by the privations and hardships incident to pioneer life; but despite these he endeavored, mainly by his own efforts and amidst the most meagre of opportunities, to continue the education begun in the public schools of his native town. His love of reading and a retentive memory were his great aids in laying the foundations of a broad culture which was the characteristic of his later years.

His devotion to the ideals of peace may be said to have had its beginning at the age of seventeen, when he left the established church under the auspices of which he had received his primary education and became a member of the Society of Friends. In the face of his difficulties with a new language he determined for the ministry of his chosen faith, and in the year 1868 was rewarded by recognition of his gifts and devotion. In that year he was called and recorded a minister of the gospel, in which capacity he served faithfully for nearly half a century.

Mr. Hanson gave a warm place in his heart to the reforms of the day. The temperance cause owes as much to his untiring and courageous zeal as does the peace movement; and in this work his influence was felt abroad also. The organization, many years ago, of temperance reform in Denmark was mainly due to his efforts, of which high recognition was accorded him at his attendance upon the celebration of the thirty-fifth anniversary of that reform in 1914.